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nays. Mr. Witherspoon made a last effort to secure only one ship by a motion to recommit the bill to the committee, with instructions to report it back with provision for but one ship. This was lost, 149 to 165.

So the conflict goes on; but it is at least encouraging that the ultra-militarists have been this time thoroughly defeated in their effort to foist upon the people largely increased armaments and expenses.

Extraordinary Session of the Berne Bureau.

An extraordinary session of the Council of the International Peace Bureau was held on January 6 and 7, at Berne, Switzerland. There were sixteen present besides the secretary, Mr. Golay. The countries represented were: Austria, 1; Belgium, 2; Germany, 3; Great Britain, 1; Holland, 3; Hungary, 2; Italy, 1; Switzerland, 3. None of the American members were able to make the journey.

The proposal to make an attempt to hold a meeting originated with Dr. Fried and Professor Quidde, who urged that the session be convened in Holland if it was not found possible to get to Berne. Mr. La Fontaine, the president, did not at first approve the idea, but later came to feel that it was very desirable to attempt to get the council together.

One of the matters discussed, aside from the all-important question of the conditions of a stable peace to be established after the terrible conflict is ended, was the financial position in which the bureau finds itself as a result of the decision of the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment not to make any grants for peace work in Europe while the war continues. Ways and means were carefully canvassed for securing the needful resources to enable the bureau to continue its work during the war, and to prepare for its enlarged activities when the conflict is over.

The three appeals which it was decided to issue are referred to in the letter quoted further on. The document sent out by Mr. La Fontaine a few months ago was taken as the basis for discussion, and eight main points were agreed on as essential to the final settlement.

In a recent letter, Mr. Joseph G. Alexander, the only member of the council from England who was able to attend, makes this summary of what was accomplished:

"The direct outcome of our meeting was not great. It was agreed to issue appeals to peace societies throughout the world and to international organizations of all kinds, exhorting them not to disband their forces; also to 'intellectuals,' begging them to use their influence to allay bitterness and prepare for renewed friendly collaboration when war is over. The council further drew up a program of the main points which will need to be embodied in a just and durable peace, and which pacifists should be carefully studying beforehand with a view to preparing an enlightened public opinion.

"But to my mind the chief value of the gathering, which rendered it well worth while to make a somewhat arduous journey, was the friendly intercourse between pacifists of belligerent and neutral states, who, notwithstanding their different national standpoints, are agreed in protesting against the barbarity and stupidity of war, and have not lost their faith in the ideals of peace. We are assured that the object-lesson of the awful conflict now raging will not be lost. As a Swiss pastor told his congregation a Sunday or two ago, 'We were a few thousand pacifists before the war; after it we shall be millions.'"

Mr. Alexander, in a later communication, makes these observations:

"Our chairman, a member of the Senate of poor, martyred Belgium, set a noble example by his attitude toward the delegates of the peace societies of the state whose armies have devastated her towns and villages. I could not but feel deep sympathy with those who, though they dare not exercise the liberty of criticism which is still permitted to us in England, remain as much attached as ever to the principles of peace for which we have all long contended. It was a privilege to be permitted, on behalf of British pacifists, to show them that, however much we may disapprove the actions of their governments, we still recognize in them brothers in arms in the war against war."

The following is the text of the general appeal which the council voted to send out:

To Intellectual Leaders in All Nations:

Half a year of war has now passed over Europe, and the bodies of the slain youth of all peoples still rise pile upon pile, while centers of industry and civilization are still being converted into heaps of ruin and desolation. Millions who but a few months ago were in health, industriously carrying on their peaceful pursuits, happily and contentedly laboring, have been torn from the ranks of the living, or are wasting away with disease, or crippled, or pining in misery and despair. The hopes which filled humanity a few years since, when the threshold of the twentieth century was crossed, seem to have been forgotten. Men's thoughts, filled with hatred and bitterness, are bent on destruction and the ruthless annihilation of everything which but yesterday they considered as the sacred attributes of an advanced epoch.

Nevertheless, in the midst of this sanguinary and dark hour a faint ray of hope is appearing—the still hazy conception that a day will dawn when all this wretchedness will be ended and reason shall once more come into her own and control men's thoughts and feelings. We do not yet know when this day may come, but we do know that come it must.

To keep men from forgetting this day is now an even sublimer task than the healing of the wounds caused in battle; and to prepare for this day is the most sacred duty incumbent on mankind in this period of fever and delirium.

Men of learning and ability, you who are the intellectual leaders of mankind, you who are called upon to bear aloft the banner of civilization, and, as your fathers did, to keep it unsullied even in the darkest hour, yours is this duty—a sacred duty of measureless importance, a duty, indeed, which for gravity can scarcely be imposed upon you oftener than once in centuries. Recogn-

nize it. The peoples are facing one another full of hatred and bitterness, intent upon mutual destruction. They are incapable of any longer seeing that they have anything to do with one another, and indeed refuse to admit that this is so. You, however, the priests of science and art, the teachers of the nations, seekers after truth and finders thereof, you are aware of the interdependence of nations, and you know that when the delirium of war is over, an iron law will compel those now engaged in mutual destruction to seek one another again.

Knowing this as you do, a heavy responsibility devolves on you, and if you neglect it, you must await the time when mankind, bleeding from a thousand wounds, will demand from you an account of your stewardship. Be mindful of this your responsibility, and be in readiness to fulfill this great task.

Not that your duty is to intervene to bring the war to a close or to recommend the conclusion of peace. That is beyond your power. It is in the power of men to avoid wars, but once war has been let loose it is beyond your power to shorten it. *Your only course is to hold aloof from the slough of hate.* You ought not to be disputing and wrangling today, nor launching accusations and indictments. However full your heart may be of such things, keep silence. If you insist on speaking out, then you must express the ideas of the confraternity among whom you have lived and among whom your labors, your science, and your art have become great. The day must come when association and work in common will be once more resumed. Then all who are now refusing or even despising them will be overcome with a feeling of shame. Spare yourselves this and spare your own people. Remain true to your conception of peace in order that you may be able to co-operate in the work of reunion which is awaiting you after the war. Be as the heads of the bridges which must remain intact in order that the bridges which are now being blown up everywhere may be rebuilt.

You erred in believing that you, too, must take part in the war of armies. The lofty feelings which induced you to commit this error will be understood, but you should now realize that such an error bodes ill, and cast it aside. Realize that for you *humanity must be above nations*, and that you serve your own nation only by serving humanity. Realize that you are the high priests whose vocation it is in the midst of all this chaos to evolve order and good feeling in preparation for the day of peace.

On that day your time will have come, the time when with your words and deeds you will help to heal the wounds which are bleeding today.

On behalf of the International Peace Bureau.

H. LA FONTAINE, *President*.

H. GOLAY, *Secretary*.

BERNE, January, 1915.

Miss Priscilla H. Peckover, founder and president of the Wisbech (England) Local Peace Association, who has devoted herself unceasingly to the peace cause for more than half a century, writes:

"People are seeing with their own eyes how absolutely powerless militarism is to preserve either justice or peace, and therefore it must be absolutely abolished, since it produces only evil."

Editorial Notes.

A Conference of Neutral Nations.

On the 8th of February Senator La Follette introduced a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 234) authorizing the President of the United States to convey to the neutral nations the Government's wish for an international conference to promote the early cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace among the warring nations. Speaking to this resolution on February 12, Mr. La Follette made a stirring plea for its adoption, urging that such a conference be called for the preservation of the sovereign rights and the integrity and peace of the neutral nations of the world. He did not attempt to discuss the scope and powers of the conference, but called attention to certain propositions fundamental to the establishment of permanent peace, ending with these words:

"What stands out in bold relief is the unmistakable duty of the American Congress to authorize the President to convey to neutral nations the desire of this government for an international conference for the purpose of promoting by co-operation and through its friendly offices the early cessation of hostilities, the establishment of peace among the warring nations of Europe, the clear definition of the rights of neutral nations, and for the other purposes to which I have briefly adverted.

"Sir, it were folly to pretend that the mere calling of the proposed conference will end hostilities. But it is little short of an international crime for Congress to withhold from the President the authority and the necessary appropriation enabling him to act as the occasion shall commend itself to his expressed desire to initiate such proceeding as may, in the providence of God, aid in bringing peace to the nations now at war.

"We cannot longer avoid our responsibility. The balance of the world at peace waits on this government. Neutral rights demand a clearer definition. Delay is filled with menace.

"Shall we wait until other nations are drawn into the struggle? Or shall we and the neutral nations meet and make articulate the protest of the peaceful half of the world's population—a protest tempered by sympathy and affection and reason, and yet so strong and so persistent that it shall finally be heard above the roar and crash of the world's greatest war?"

The La Follette resolution is in exact accord with the petitions and resolutions of many of our peace societies, including the one sent to President Wilson by the board of directors of the American Peace Society at its mid-winter meeting. The text of the resolution is as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the President be authorized to convey to all neutral nations the desire of this government that an international conference be held for the purpose of promoting by co-operation and through its friendly offices:

First. The early cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace among the warring nations of Europe;

Second. The consideration of uniform rules and regulations for the general limitation of armaments and the nationalization of the manufacture of all equipment and supplies used exclusively for military and naval purposes;

Third. The consideration of rules and regulations for the